

STUDIA PATRISTICA

VOL. LXVI

Papers presented at the Sixteenth International Conference
on Patristic Studies held
in Oxford 2011

Edited by
MARKUS VINZENT

Volume 14:
Clement of Alexandria
The Fourth-Century Debates



PEETERS

LEUVEN – PARIS – WALPOLE, MA

2013

Table of Contents

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Jana PLÁTOVÁ, Centre for Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Texts, Olomouc, Czech Republic Die Fragmente des Clemens Alexandrinus in den griechischen und arabischen Katenen.....	3
Marco RIZZI, Milan, Italy The Work of Clement of Alexandria in the Light of his Contemporary Philosophical Teaching.....	11
Stuart Rowley THOMSON, Oxford, UK Apostolic Authority: Reading and Writing Legitimacy in Clement of Alexandria	19
Davide DAINESI, Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose ‘Giovanni XXIII’, Bologna, Italy Clement of Alexandria’s Refusal of Valentinian ἀπόρροια	33
Dan BATOVICI, St Andrews, UK Hermas in Clement of Alexandria	41
Piotr ASHWIN-SIEJKOWSKI, Chichester, UK Clement of Alexandria on the Creation of Eve: Exegesis in the Service of a Pedagogical Project.....	53
Pamela MULLINS REAVES, Durham, NC, USA Multiple Martyrdoms and Christian Identity in Clement of Alexandria’s <i>Stromateis</i>	61
Michael J. THATE, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, CT, USA Identity Construction as Resistance: Figuring Hegemony, Biopolitics, and Martyrdom as an Approach to Clement of Alexandria.....	69
Veronika ČERNUŠKOVÁ, Olomouc, Czech Republic The Concept of εὐπάθεια in Clement of Alexandria	87
Kamala PAREL-NUTTALL, Calgary, Canada Clement of Alexandria’s Ideal Christian Wife	99

THE FOURTH-CENTURY DEBATES

Michael B. SIMMONS, Montgomery, Alabama, USA Universalism in Eusebius of Caesarea: The Soteriological Use of سبحه الله ولا نعبد الا الله وحده in Book III of the <i>Theophany</i>	125
Jon M. ROBERTSON, Portland, Oregon, USA 'The Beloved of God': The Christological Backdrop for the Political Theory of Eusebius of Caesarea in <i>Laus Constantini</i>	135
Cordula BANDT, Berlin, Germany Some Remarks on the Tone of Eusebius' <i>Commentary on Psalms</i> ...	143
Clayton COOMBS, Melbourne, Australia Literary Device or Legitimate Diversity: Assessing Eusebius' Use of the Optative Mood in <i>Quaestiones ad Marinum</i>	151
David J. DEVORE, Berkeley, California, USA Eusebius' Un-Josephan History: Two Portraits of Philo of Alexandria and the Sources of Ecclesiastical Historiography	161
Gregory Allen ROBBINS, Denver, USA 'Number Determinate is Kept Concealed' (Dante, <i>Paradiso</i> XXIX 135): Eusebius and the Transformation of the List (<i>Hist. eccl.</i> III 25)	181
James CORKE-WEBSTER, Manchester, UK A Literary Historian: Eusebius of Caesarea and the Martyrs of Lyons and Palestine	191
Samuel FERNÁNDEZ, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Chile ¿Crisis arriana o crisis monarquiana en el siglo IV? Las críticas de Marcelo de Ancira a Asterio de Capadocia	203
Laurence VIANÈS, Université de Grenoble / HiSoMA «Sources Chrétien- nes», France L'interprétation des prophètes par Apollinaire de Laodicée a-t-elle influencé Théodore de Mopsueste?	209
Hélène GRELIER-DENEUX, Paris, France La réception d'Apollinaire dans les controverses christologiques du V ^e siècle à partir de deux témoins, Cyrille d'Alexandrie et Théodoret de Cyr	223

Sophie H. CARTWRIGHT, Edinburgh, UK So-called Platonism, the Soul, and the Humanity of Christ in Eus- tathius of Antioch's <i>Contra Ariomanitas et de anima</i>	237
Donna R. HAWK-REINHARD, St Louis, USA Cyril of Jerusalem's Sacramental <i>Theōsis</i>	247
Georgij ZAKHAROV, Moscou, Russie Théologie de l'image chez Germinius de Sirmium.....	257
Michael Stuart WILLIAMS, Maynooth, Ireland Auxentius of Milan: From Orthodoxy to Heresy	263
Jarred A. MERCER, Oxford, UK The Life in the Word and the Light of Humanity: The Exegetical Foundation of Hilary of Poitiers' Doctrine of Divine Infinity	273
Janet SIDAWAY, Edinburgh, UK Hilary of Poitiers and Phoebadius of Agen: Who Influenced Whom?	283
Dominique GONNET, S.J., Lyon, France The Use of the Bible within Athanasius of Alexandria's <i>Letters to Serapion</i>	291
William G. RUSCH, New York, USA Corresponding with Emperor Jovian: The Strategy and Theology of Apollinaris of Laodicea and Athanasius of Alexandria.....	301
Rocco SCHEMBRA, Catania, Italia Il percorso editoriale del <i>De non parcendo in deum delinquentibus</i> di Lucifero di Cagliari	309
Caroline MACÉ, Leuven, Belgium, and Ilse DE VOS, Oxford, UK Pseudo-Athanasius, <i>Quaestio ad Antiochum</i> 136 and the <i>Theosophia</i>	319

Hermas in Clement of Alexandria

Dan BATOVICI, St Andrews, UK

ABSTRACT

Clement of Alexandria (150-215) is listed, without fail, in all commentaries on *Hermas* among the early authors who held the *Shepherd* in highest esteem. Yet it is not always an easy task to grasp the meaning of this esteem. My article aims to reassess the peculiar view Clement held about *Hermas* as an instance of this text's reception, and thus as a part of the reception history of the *Shepherd*.

The assessment of the standing of *Hermas* in the works of Clement of Alexandria finds its context in a research which considers the early reception history of *Hermas* as a whole.¹ To that end, it is useful to mention that the corpus of data which form *Hermas*' reception history is by and large threefold: a) *Hermas*' peculiar standing in the works of subsequent Patristic authors with all its particularities, b) the wealth of early manuscripts preserved of this text, and c) the number of ancient translations we have of the *Shepherd*.

It is usual for scholars to note that *Hermas* was considered scripture by Patristic authors² such as Irenaeus of Lyon,³ Clement,⁴ Tertullian (*Or.* 16),⁵ and

¹ I am grateful to Bogdan Bucur and the reviewer for their comments and suggestions on successive drafts of this paper. All remaining imperfections are of course mine. I would also like to thank the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius for the conference grant they generously offered me.

² An extended survey of testimonies up to the sixth century on *Hermas* can be found in Norbert Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, KAV 7 (Göttingen, 1991), 55-71. See also Carolyn Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, 1999), 4-7; Robert M. Grant, 'Apostolic Fathers first thousand years', *Church History* 31 (1962), 421-9, and H. Chadwick, 'The New edition of Hermas', *JTS* 8 (1957), 274-80.

³ On Irenaeus' *Hermas* see M.C. Steenberg, 'Irenaeus on Scripture, *Graphe*, and the Status of *Hermas*', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 53 (2009), 29-66; Bertrand Hemmerdinger, 'Observations critiques sur Irénée, IV (Sources Chrétiennes 100) ou les mésaventures d'un philologue', *JTS* 17 (1966), 308-26, esp. 308³; Philippe Henne, 'Canonicité du "Pasteur" d'Hermas', *Revue Thomiste* 90 (1990), 81-100, esp. 82-7. See also Y.-M. Blanchard, *Aux sources du canon, le témoignage d'Irénée* (Paris, 1993), 129⁷.

⁴ James A. Brooks, 'Clement of Alexandria as a Witness to the Development of the New Testament Canon', *SecCent* 9 (1992), 41-55.

⁵ Harry Y. Gamble, 'The New Testament Canon: Recent Research and the Status Quaestionis', in Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders (eds), *The Canon Debate* (Peabody, MA, 2002), 267-94, esp. 289.

Didymus the Blind.⁶ Similarly, ‘Origen used it freely with scriptural arguments in his earlier years, becoming cooler toward it as time went on.’⁷

On the manuscript side, *Hermas* is better represented among the papyri than most of the New Testament texts taken apart.⁸ Beyond that, as is well known, *Hermas* is the last book – after the *Epistle of Barnabas* – of what has survived of the 4th century full Greek Bible manuscript known as Codex Sinaiticus. In addition, there are a number of versions which have survived in a variety of languages, hinting further at the popularity of this text: *Hermas* was translated into Latin (two different translations, one probably from the 2nd century), Ethiopic, Coptic (we have fragments of both Akhmimic and Sahidic versions), Middle Persian⁹ and Georgian.

All in all, as a direct result of the antique testimonies on *Hermas*, its name is among the first to emerge in scholarly discussion concerning the fluid margins of the biblical canon in the first four centuries. For the purpose of this research, however, the canonical question will not be central, not only for the fear of anachronism. It is also a concept which ultimately forces one to a binary decision. Instead, authority is a versatile enough term to be applied with some effect to this otherwise piecemeal research. The general question would then be: what can we safely say about the authority of the *Shepherd of Hermas* in each specific point of its reception?

The traces of *Hermas* in Clement’s works have long been seen as focussing on common themes, of which the most prominent is, I believe, the discussion around repentance.¹⁰ Recently, a more subtle parallel was documented, a shared use of an angelic imagery when referring to the Holy Spirit.¹¹

⁶ Bart D. Ehrman, ‘The New Testament Canon of Didymus the Blind’, *VC* 37 (1983), 1-21.

⁷ C. Osiek, *Hermas* (1999), 5. Other testimonies reveal a somewhat lower status for the text. For example, the reports from Eusebius, Jerome and Rufinus according to which *Hermas* was read in the churches throughout the fourth century – references in Geoffrey Mark Hahneman, ‘The Muratorian Fragment and the Origins of the New Testament Canon’, in L.M. McDonald and J.A. Sanders, *Canon Debate* (2002), 405-15, 411.

⁸ Malcolm Choat and Rachel Yuen-Collingridge, ‘The Egyptian Hermas: The Shepherd in Egypt before Constantine’, in Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (eds), *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach*, TENT 5 (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 191-212, 196.

⁹ Michael Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers: Greek Text and English Translation*, 3rd edition (Grand Rapids, 2007), 448-9.

¹⁰ See some references in Peter Panyiotis Karavites, *Evil, Freedom, and the Road to Perfection in Clement of Alexandria*, VCS 63 (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1999), 49¹⁰².

¹¹ Bogdan Gabriel Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses*, VCS 95 (Leiden, 2009).

References to *Hermas* in Clement's works

Strom. I 1.1 [1]

Today, we no longer have the beginning of the *Stromateis*. The first page of the main manuscript is missing. What we have of it starts, in fact, with a *Hermas* quotation, *Strom.* I 1:

Strom. I 1.1 [1]: '[...] that you read them at hand and be able to keep them'.¹²

In *Hermas*, this occurs in the 5th vision ([25] 5); it is the vision in which the *Shepherd* makes his appearance. And the first instruction to Hermas is precisely to write down all the commandments and parables to come, so that you may read them at hand and be able to keep them, or, to be more exact, to observe them.

The first chapter of the 1st book of the *Stromateis* presents a brief argument as to why Clement is writing the whole book. On the one hand he points to the limitations of teaching (some things should remain obscured), and on the other he sets in contrast the two ways of transmitting the gnosis, orally or in a written manner.

And after the *Hermas* quotation, there is a question pertaining to the latter: who should *not* leave written works behind? It could be construed that the presence of the *Hermas* quotation is used by Clement to point to the necessity rather than the vague possibility of his leaving behind written works, given that the *Hermas* fragment speaks of writing teachings down as a means for observing them, and not just for the sake of collection.

Strom. I 181.1 [29]

The next *Hermas* quote occurs in the very last chapter of the first book of the *Stromateis*. In this chapter, the 29th, Clement affirms the prevalence of the divine law over the younger teachings of the Greeks.

Strom. I 181.1 [29]: Therefore, it is in a divine manner that the power which spoke to Hermas by revelation said: 'The visions and revelations are for the double-minded, who ponder in their hearts whether these things are or are not'.¹³

¹² Herm. Vis. 5.5 [25]: ἵνα ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἀναγνώσκῃς αὐτάς καὶ δυνήθῃς φυλάξαι αὐτάς – Bart D. Erhman, *The Apostolic Fathers* II, Loeb Classical Library 25 (Cambridge, MA and London, 2003), 236.

Strom. I 1.1 [1]: [...] ἵνα ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἀναγνώσκῃς αὐτάς καὶ δυνήθῃς φυλάξαι αὐτάς – Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates: Stromate I*, SC 30 (Paris, 1951), 43.

¹³ Herm. Vis. 3.4.3 [12]: [...] καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψύχους, τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν (LCL 25, 204).

In the *Shepherd*, these are the words of the woman impersonating the church. She is telling Hermas that the visions and the interpretations he receives for those are not for him, for his qualities, but for the benefit of the double-minded.

In Clement, the double-minded who question whether things are or are not, are the Greeks, with their younger teaching. The meaning is that you need the Law, and the Scriptures to grow out of mere philosophy, no matter how erudite or full of reason it may be.

Of interest here is also how this rather loose quotation from *Hermas* is introduced: the woman impersonating the church is said to be a power, δύναμις, who, in a divine manner, θείως, speaks to Hermas by revelation. It can be noted that in the preceding chapter (I 178.1), in largely the same discussion, Clement contrasts Greek dialectics with true wisdom (τὴν ἀληθῆ σοφίαν), of which the latter is a divine power (δύναμις θεία), through which a complete understanding can be reached, but not without the Saviour and his divine word.

Strom. II 3.5 [1]

In the second book of the *Stromateis*, a quote from *Hermas* concludes the first chapter.

Strom. II 3.5 [1]: The power who shows things (ἡ δύναμις ἡ φανεῖσα) says to Hermas in the vision: what may be revealed to you, will be revealed.¹⁴

This is a free quote from the 3rd vision of the *Shepherd*, where the woman impersonating the church urges Hermas to stop asking about the revelation, and then adds: 'If something needs to be revealed (rather than may be revealed, as Clement has it), it will be revealed to you'.

This first chapter of the second book of the *Stromateis* is an introductory one, which sets the intention of what follows and offers further critique of the philosophy of the Greeks. Before the *Hermas* quote, Clement contends that the one who seeks the truth diligently will see beyond what the Greeks offer, looking for the face beneath the mask. The *Hermas* quote then functions as a confirmation: rest assured, what may be revealed, will be revealed.

And again, in the introductory formula, Clement mentions the power, that is, the power who shows things (ἡ δύναμις ἡ φανεῖσα), the character who speaks to Hermas and conveys the visions he experiences.

Strom. I 181.1 [29]: Θείως τοίνυν ἡ δύναμις ἡ τῷ Ἑρμῇ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν λαλοῦσα « τὰ δρᾶματα » φησὶ « καὶ τὰ ἀποκαλύμματα διὰ τοὺς διψύχους, τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν » (SC 30, 176).

¹⁴ *Herm. Vis.* 3.13.4 [21]: [...] ἐάν τι δὲ δέη, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται σοι (LCL 25, 226).

Strom. II 3.5 [1]: Φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ δράματι τῷ Ἑρμῇ ἡ δύναμις ἡ φανεῖσα: « ὁ ἐὰν ἐνδέχῃται σοι ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται » (SC 38, 34).

Strom. II 43.5-44.3 [9]

The next quotation occurs in the 9th chapter of the same book, a chapter that puts together the virtues which follow one another, faith, fear, love, hospitality, repentance and hope. Yet the *Hermas* reference appears in an excursus dealing with the issue of faith prior to Christ and even to the Law. I will offer here a larger quote from Clement:

Strom. II 43.5-44.3 [9]: And the Shepherd, speaking plainly of those who had fallen asleep, knew there were certain righteous among Gentiles and Jews, not only before the coming of Christ, but also before the law, given the acceptance before God. [...] He thus says that the apostles and teachers who preached the name of the Son of God and fallen asleep, preached by power and by faith to those that had fallen asleep before.

This is a reference to the 16th chapter of the 9th *Similitude*, which does mention neither Gentiles nor Jews, nor the death of the righteous man before the Law. It simply says *before*.

Clement's text continues with a large quotation from that chapter of *Hermas*:

Strom. II 44.2-3 [9]: Indeed he adds: and they gave them the seal of preaching. Thus they descended with them into the water and ascended again. But these descended alive, and again ascended alive. But those, who had fallen asleep, descended dead and ascended alive. Therefore, by these they were made alive, and found out the name of the Son of God. This is also why they ascended with them, and fitted into the construction of the tower, and, without being cut, were built up together; they fell asleep in righteousness and in great purity; the only thing they didn't have was this seal.¹⁵

In this Clementine chapter, *Hermas* serves as a confirmation and an example for what the mentioned aside states: the virtues were available to the Gentiles also, and even before the Law. This aside, spanning over 11 verses of 3 paragraphs of the 9th chapter (II 42.4 – II 44.4), contains confirmative examples from, respectively: *Romans*, *Deuteronomy* and *Isaiah* quoted according to *Romans*, *Hermas*, and again *Romans*.

¹⁵ Herm. *Sim.* 9.16.5-7 [93]: [...] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴ σφραγίδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. 6. κατέβησαν καὶ ζῶντες κατέβησαν καὶ ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν. 7. διὰ τούτων οὖν ἐζωοποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ συνηρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνφοκοδομήθησαν· ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ γὰρ ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀγνείᾳ· μόνον δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην οὐκ εἶχον [...] (LCL 25, 430).

Strom. II 44.2-3 [9]: Εἶτα ἐπιφέρει· « καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. Κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν· Ἄλλ' οὗτοι ζῶντες κατέβησαν καὶ πάλιν ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν. Διὰ τούτων οὖν ἐζωοποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ συνηρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνφοκοδομήθησαν· ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ <γὰρ> ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀγνείᾳ, μόνον δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην οὐκ ἔσχον » (SC 38, 69).

This fragment from the Sim. 9.16.6 [93] is also quoted in the 6th book of the *Stromateis*, chapter 6, in a similar context. Brooks notes that here, the *Hermas* ‘passage is commented upon as though it were scripture’.¹⁶ I’ll just note that this quotation is really no different than other *Hermas* quotations.

Strom. II 55.3-6 [12]

The next *Hermas* quote occurs in the 12th chapter, again dedicated to virtues: we find here discussed faith, love, fear of God, hope, knowledge, and the intricate relations between them. This chapter is then concluded with several *Hermas* quotation, at times very approximate ones. Here is the first one:

Strom. II 55.3 [12]: As the Shepherd puts it: ‘The virtue who holds together the church is Faith, the one through which the elect of God are saved. And the manly one is Self-restraint. They are followed by Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. All these are the daughters of Faith.’¹⁷

This is a very loose manner of quoting on Clement’s part. To be exact, in *Hermas*’ text, all of them support the building of the tower, not only Faith, and they are not all daughters of Faith, as they come one from another: from Faith is born Self-restraint, from Self-restraint Simplicity, and so on, *Herm. Vis.* 3.8. [16].

Clement continues further seemingly quoting from the *Shepherd*:

Strom. II 55.4 [12]: And again he says: ‘Faith leads the way, Fear builds up, and Love perfects.’¹⁸

Yet, even though this is indeed introduced as a quotation, there is nothing in the *Shepherd* to resemble it. It is, most likely, an interpretation on Clement’s part. The next one is very similarly an interpretation: it is again introduced as a quotation but cannot be found in the *Shepherd*. It is usually considered a reference to the 7th *Mandate*, 1-4, of which it seems to be a very free reworking on Clement’s part.

Strom. II 55.4-5 [12] [...]: He says: ‘Fear the Lord, then, in building up, and not the devil, in ruining.’ 5. And furthermore: ‘The works of God, that is <from> his commandments, are to be loved and done. But the works of the devil should be feared and not done. For the fear of God teaches and restores in love, while the fear of devil has hatred dwelling with it.’

¹⁶ J.A. Brooks, ‘Clement’ (1992), 47.

¹⁷ *Strom.* II 55.3 [12]: « Ἡ τοίνυν συνέχουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν », ὡς φησιν ὁ Ποιμὴν, « ἀρετὴ ἢ πίστις ἐστὶ, δι’ ἧς σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἡ δὲ ἀνδριζομένη ἐγκράτεια. Ἔπεται δ’ αὐταῖς ἀπλότης, ἐπιστήμη, ἀκακία, σεμνότης, ἀγάπη· Πᾶσαι δὲ αὗται πίστεώς εἰσι θυγατέρες » (SC 38, 78).

¹⁸ *Strom.* II 55.4 [12]: Καὶ πάλιν· « προηγείται μὴν πίστις, φόβος δὲ οἰκοδομεῖ, τελειοῖ δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη » (SC 38, 78).

Up next one is a free quotation reworking material from the 4th *Mandate*:

Strom. II 55.6 [12]: He (the Shepherd) also says: ‘repentance is a great understanding. When repenting for what one has done, one does not do it or say it anymore, and, by torturing himself for his mistakes, benefits his soul.’ [...] ¹⁹

The last *Hermas* reference in this chapter also concludes it. It has no introductory marker, and it is also not a quotation, but rather an interpretation of the contents of what follows in the 4th *Mandate* [31].

Strom. II 55.6 [12]: Therefore, the forgiveness of sins differs from repentance, although both show what is in our power. ²⁰

This last *Hermas* reference from the 12th chapter of the 2nd book of the *Stromateis* could be construed as an introduction to the next chapter, which deals precisely with a core topic from the *Shepherd*: the possibility of a second repentance. In fact, the whole conglomerate of *Hermas* references and loose quotations from *Hermas* here mark the switch from the treatment of the virtues to the more practical one pertaining to the margins of repentance.

This chapter 13, usually considered to be closely inspired from the 4th *Mandate*, does not contain any explicit *Hermas* quote, although its opening statement seems to be an unmarked borrowing from the same 4th *Mandate* [31.2].

Strom. II 56.1 [13]: [...] He who has received forgiveness of sins must sin no more.

It was already noted by previous authors that, on the matter of the possibility of a second repentance, Clement concurs with *Hermas* in accepting the possibility of a second post-baptismal repentance, and also in holding that repeated repentance is useless. ²¹

Beyond these references, in 4.15.6 and 4.30.1 there are mentioned the martyrs who stay at the right hand of holiness, with an expression very close to that of *Hermas* on the same matter. Yet if a quotation, it is a silent quotation, without any explicit introductory formula.

Strom. IV 74.4 [9]

The following clear *Hermas* quotation occurs in the 9th chapter of the 4th book of the *Stromateis*. Here, Clement distinguishes the defending of faith from the

¹⁹ The parallel text is *Herm. Mand.* 4.2.2 [30].

²⁰ The parallel text is *Herm. Mand.* 4.2.3 [30].

²¹ See SC 38, 80¹. P. Karavites, *Evil, Freedom*, 49¹⁰²: ‘Clement’s ideas on the lure of sin are nearly inspired by *Hermas* (Mand. 4.3) which contains the locus classicus on penitence in the 2nd cent. AD. Like *Hermas*, Clement admits a “second penitence,” *Strom* II 57.1, for sins committed after baptism, but also like *Hermas* he rejects the idea that this penitence could be repeated (Mand. 4.3.6). He who repents in order to fall back to the same sin is not a real repentor (*Strom* II 59.1). More than *Hermas* Clement does not give any indication of the sacramental and ecclesiastical character of this second penitence.’

confession of faith, and argues that only the latter is a requirement for all. Defending the faith, however, 'is not universally necessary, for that is not in our power'. The sufferings of Christ and of the Apostles are offered as models on that.

Paul is then quoted, from *Titus* 1:16, about those who confess God but whose works really are abominable. Clement adds that even those, by confessing, have done a good work, as their witness seems to cleanse their sins away. A quote from *Hermas* and one from *Luke* 22:31-2a are adduced to demonstrate his point:

Strom. IV 74.4 [9]: For example, the Shepherd says: 'You will escape the operation of the wild beast, if your heart becomes pure and blameless.' And also the Lord himself says [...].²²

The Lukan quote follows, about the Lord's intercession for those otherwise claimed by Satan. One should note that Clement here relies on *Hermas* to go beyond the text of Paul.

The *Sources Chrétiennes* editor notes, with respect to the *Luke* quotation, that the importance of the Gospel is here emphasized by comparison with *Hermas*' quote. This, however, does not say much about *Hermas* standing compared to the NT texts involved here, as it could have been provided simply as another example, even more diluted, for the message conveyed by the Gospel.

There is another possible reading, that Clement here is not comparing texts, 'the *Shepherd of Hermas*' and the '*Gospel according to Luke*', but the characters in these texts: the Shepherd and the Lord. In which case it is only natural to have a Jesus' saying as more authoritative than, virtually, a saying of anyone else. To be sure, there is a difficulty with such a proposal: in the text of *Hermas*, it is not the Shepherd who speaks, but the woman impersonating the church. Yet if one notes that in all other direct citations from *Hermas*, it is the speaking character who is introduced as saying what is quoted, the difficulty can be resolved. Furthermore, both the Shepherd and the woman-church are named as the divine power that speaks to Hermas, rendering Clement's seeming confusion possible. All in all, both *Hermas* and *Luke*, linked by ἀλλὰ καί, are bound together in that they are used to support Clement's interpretation beyond the text of Paul.

Strom. VI 131.2 [15]

The last explicit *Hermas* reference and quotation comes in the 15th chapter of the 6th book of the *Stromateis*. The context is Clement's discussion about the

²² Herm. Vis. 4.2.5 [23]: [...] δυνήσεσθε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτήν, ἐὰν ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν γένηται καθάρᾳ καὶ ἄμωμος [...] (LCL 25, 230).

rich obscurities of the Scripture, accessible to the gnostic. The *Hermas* reference goes as follows:

Strom. VI 131.2 [15]: Did not the power, who appeared to Hermas in vision as the *typos* of the Church, give him the book to copy for the elects [...] He says he wrote it letter by letter, for he could not find the syllables.

Modern readers of *Hermas* were baffled by this fragment from the 2nd *Vision* 1.3-4 [5]. Some pointed out that the book must have been written in *scriptio continua*, which caused Hermas reading difficulties.²³ This interpretation produced amusement among other scholars, who urged the first group to keep in mind this is a vision scenario which would rather require a symbolic interpretation.²⁴

Clement, for his part, understands this fragment allegorically: the letter by letter reading is the simple faith based on Scripture, who is accessible to all upon simple reading, while the syllabic reading is for the gnostics whose advanced faith unfolds the Scriptures. Relevant for the present discussion, however, is that the second similar example is drawn from *Isaiah*, who also received the order to write a book, in 8:1-2.

Further considerations

First of all, unlike in Irenaeus' case, it is clear from Clement that he quotes and makes references to all three parts of *Hermas*: *Visions*, *Mandates* and *Parables*.

There is not enough material of *Hermas* in Clement to make it easy to establish the status of this text. The number of citations and references is significantly smaller than that of the Gospels, and rather comparable with that of Revelation, for example, in whose case Clement does not say anything pertaining to its status.²⁵ And yet, Brooks notes: 'Clement knew and used, almost certainly as scripture twenty-three out of twenty-seven books now in the New Testament'²⁶, and also places where a *Hermas*' 'passage is commented upon as though it were scripture'.²⁷

While it is impossible to say definitely what additional books Clement would include in his NT canon, frequency of citation and authoritative references indicate it would

²³ See R. Joly, *Hermas: Le Pasteur*, SC 53 (Paris, 1958, ²1968), 89²; C. Osiek, *Hermas* (1999), 52.

²⁴ Stanislas Giet, *Hermas et les Pasteurs: les trois auteurs du Pasteur d'Hermas* (Paris, 1963), 14⁴.

²⁵ See J.A. Brooks, 'Clement' (1992), for a presentation of such numbers.

²⁶ J.A. Brooks, 'Clement' (1992), 44.

²⁷ J.A. Brooks, 'Clement' (1992), 47.

probably include 1 Clement, Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Didache.²⁸

Letting aside the gospels, it is difficult – without projecting our own expectations on to the data – to establish whether *Hermas* is higher or lower in Clement's esteem than the New Testament books with a smaller number of references in his works, due to the fact that Clement did not categorized texts in an explicit manner such as later authors would do.²⁹

The most distinctive feature, I believe, is the way the revealing agents – those who are mediating Hermas' visions and the subsequent interpretations of those visions – are presented. As seen, they are (divine) powers on two occasions: ἡ δύναμις ἡ φανεῖσα, and ἡ δύναμις ἡ τῷ Ἑρμᾷ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν λαλοῦσα.

From what I can tell, no other individual text is introduced in such a manner in the *Stromateis*. In the 4th chapter of the 1st book, with the aid of two quotations from Paul (one from *Eph.* 3:10, and the other from *Hebr.* 1:1) Clement states that the wisdom of God (σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ) comes in many shapes, through which, for our benefit, wisdom shows its power (δύναμις): through art (διὰ τέχνες), knowledge (ἐπιστήμη), faith (πίστις), and prophecy (προφητεία) (*Strom.* I 27.1). However, few paragraphs before the first mentioning of the power speaking to Hermas, and in the same larger context, Clement speaks of the true wisdom (τὴν ἀληθῆ σοφίαν), of which the latter is a divine power (δύναμις θεία), through which a complete understanding can be reached, but not without the Saviour and his divine word.

As such, the powers belong to Clement's technical vocabulary. With regard to a 'decisive passage for the doctrine of the trinity in Clement (4.25),'³⁰ H.F. Hägg notes that for the Alexandrine '[t]he powers are ... the thoughts and actions of God.'³¹ B.G. Bucur, however, finds that such an explanation 'does not account for the complexity of this text.'³² Instead he contends, with regard to the key text in *Strom.* IV 25.156:

Following Oyen, one can say confidently that Clement is fusing the Logos-speculation with an established teaching on the "powers of spirit" that originated in Jewish Christian speculation about angelic "powers." It is significant that in this respect that Clement immediately quotes Revelation ... What he has in mind is surely the throne-visions of Revelation, depicting the seven spirits or angels in attendance before the throne (*Rev.* 1:4; 8:2).³³

²⁸ Carl P. Cosaert, *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria*, TNGF 9 (Atlanta, 2008), 22⁵.

²⁹ E.g. Eusebius – ὁμολογούμενα, ἀντιλεγόμενα, and νόθοι –, or Rufinus – *canonici, ecclesiastici*, and *apocryphi*, J. Carleton Paget in *The Epistle of Barnabas. Outlook and Background*, WUNT II/64 (Tübingen, 1994), 252-3.

³⁰ Eric Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge, 2005), 151.

³¹ H.F. Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism*, OECIS (Oxford, 2009), 232.

³² B.G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology* (2009), 30.

³³ B.G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology* (2009), 30.

Based on *Excerpta* 10, 11, and 27 and *Eclogae* 56-57, he further argues that Clement's worldview forms a celestial hierarchy (within 'a theological tradition that goes back not only to an older generation of Jewish-Christian "elders." ... It consisted of oral instruction going back to the apostles themselves'³⁴) with the Logos 'at its pinnacle,' featuring, 'in descending order, the seven *protoclists*, the archangels, and the angels, ... continued by an ecclesiastical hierarchy.'³⁵

Yet what is quite relevant for the question at hand, is the proposal that for Clement 'the prophet represents the highest level in the human hierarchy.'³⁶ Bucur too mentions Clement's two introductory remarks involving the powers who speak to Hermas, as examples for the use of δύναμις within 'a venerable history in Jewish and Jewish-Christian angelology and demonology,' the context being that '[b]oth Philo and Clement know about "power" as an angelic being.'³⁷

In the light of this, it becomes clear that, put bluntly, Clement believed Hermas' visions to be genuine. Not a literary genre, not the book of a venerable man, or gnostic or saint, but an account of a genuine revelation, where Hermas is technically a prophet.³⁸

This is not necessarily unusual: among the ancient sources, at least the Muratorian Fragment seems to hint that he might have been regarded as a prophet by some at that time. Although no individual saying of any OT prophet seems to be introduced as being conveyed to him by a power, they are presented in a not too dissimilar manner: in the 21st chapter of the 1st book of the *Stromateis*, Clement speaks of "power" with respect to the Hebrew prophets, who are said to have been spoken to by the means of the power of God (δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ) and through inspiration (ἐπιπνοίᾳ). However, *Hermas* does not appear in the list closely following, in I 134.3ff [21]. Nonetheless, there seems to be enough material to consider that Hermas was a prophetic nature for Clement, even if he does not place him along the other Prophets.

To conclude, I would contend that, if Clement's high regard of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and 1*Clement* has to do most likely with the apostolic character he confers to these writings (see *Strom.* II 31.2 and IV 105.1), then the authority Hermas enjoys with Clement of Alexandria seems to lay on different grounds – its apocalyptic character, which Clement considers to be genuine.

³⁴ B.G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology* (2009), 35.

³⁵ B.G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology* (2009), 36. A complex argument for and description of Clement's "celestial hierarchy" are offered on 32-51.

³⁶ B.G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology* (2009), 53¹⁹⁴. On the same page he explains the way this works: 'Prophecy occurs when the Logos moves from the first rank of the *protoclists*, and this movement is transmitted from one level of the angelic hierarchy down to the next. The lowest rank, which is one closest to the human world, transmits the "movement" to the prophet.'

³⁷ B.G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology* (2009), 78¹⁷.

³⁸ Pace Norbert Brox, *Der Hirt* (1999), 64, who contends that the form of Hermas quotations in Clement shows that the latter didn't consider the former a prophet.